

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 05217 01 OF 02 191128Z

21

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 OMB-01 CAB-09 COME-00 DOTE-00 EB-11 FAA-00

SAJ-01 SAM-01 NIC-01 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 EUR-25

/123 W

----- 117947

O 190940Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1396

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 5217

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ETRN PFOR CH TW JA

SUBJ: POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS OF SINO-JAPANESE AVIATION
ISSUE

REF: A) TOKYO 5142 B) TOKYO 5162

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING LDP AND CABINET APPROVAL OF JAPAN-
PRC AVIATION AGREEMENT AND GOJ'S HANDLING OF TAIWAN-
JAPAN ARRANGEMENTS, SIGNING OF AGREEMENT APR 20 AND
DIET RATIFICATION APPEAR INEVITABLE. FONOFF'S MID-
DAY REPORT FROM ITAGAKI IN TAIWAN INDICATED TAIPEI
HAS NOT EXPLICITLY SAID IT WOULD BREAK AIR RELATIONS
BUT SAID ITAGAKI'S EXPLANATIONS WERE NOT SATISFACTORY
AND OHIRA'S STATEMENT WOULD DAMAGE INTERESTS OF ROC.
FONMIN OHIRA OUTLINED TO PRESS APR 19 GOJ ATTITUDE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 05217 01 OF 02 191128Z

ABOUT TAIWAN DURING NEGOTIATIONS AND GOJ'S FUTURE

POLICY TOWARD TAIWAN -- BASICALLY THAT GOJ THROUGHOUT SOUGHT TO PRESERVE TAIWAN'S INTERESTS AND SEEKS TO MAINTAIN ALL TIES. ON DOMESTIC SCENE, LDP CONTACTS PREDICT DRASTIC REACTION BY TAIPEI IS ALMOST CERTAIN AND FORECAST ACRIMONIOUS SUBSEQUENT REACTION IN LDP. EMBASSY CONCURS IN LIKELIHOOD OF ACRIMONIOUS BROUHAHA IN JAPAN BUT WE BELIEVE OUTCRY SHOULD DIMINISH FAIRLY RAPIDLY. ACHIEVEMENT OF PRC-JAPAN AIR PACT ADDS REAL SUBSTANCE TO STRUCTURE OF PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS ENVISAGED IN DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION COMMUNIQUE. DEVELOPMENT ALSO STRENGTHENS JAPAN IN IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH USSR. END SUMMARY.

1. AS REPORTED REF B, LDP AND CABINET APPROVED AVIATION AGREEMENT WITH PEKING AND GOJ'S PLANS FOR HANDLING TAIWAN-JAPAN ARRANGEMENTS AND AUTHORIZED AMB OGAWA TO SIGN AGREEMENT APR 20 IN PEKING. PARTY AND GOVT ACTION INCLUDES APPROVAL FOR SUBMISSION TO DIET FOR RATIFICATION. RATIFICATION NOW SEEMS INEVITABLE. REMAINING QUESTIONS ARE: A) WHAT TAIWAN'S REACTION WILL BE; B) FORCE OF REACTION IN JAPAN SHOULD TAIWAN RESORT TO EXTREME MEASURES SUCH AS BREAKING AIR LINK; C) EFFECTS ON PRINCIPALS IN DRAMA, LIKE TANAKA, OHIRA AND FUKUDA, SHOULD TAIWAN'S REACTION BE DRASTIC. THESE ARE DISCUSSED BELOW.

2. FONOFF DIRGEN ASIAN AFFAIRS BUREAU TAKASHIMA CALLED IN CHARGE ON AIR ISSUE APTERNOON APR 19. TAKASHIMA SAID MID-DAY REPORT FROM ITAGAKI IN TAIWAN SAID TAIPEI HAD NOT SAID EXPLICITLY THEY WOULD CUT AVIATION RELATIONS BUT GROC SAID EXPLANATIONS ITAGAKI MADE WERE NOT SATISFACTORY. ACCORDING TO GROC, STATEMENT OHIRA WOULD MAKE WOULD DAMAGE INTERESTS OF ROC AND JAPAN-ROC AVIATION RELATIONSHIP. IN RESPONSE TO CHARGE'S QUESTION, TAKASHIMA SAID THERE WAS NO RECENT CHANGE IN STATEMENT OHIRA WOULD MAKE. FOLLOWING AGREEMENT SIGNING IN PEKING, OHIRA WOULD MAKE STATEMENT EXPLAINING TERMS OF AGREEMENT. AT END OF EXPLANATION OHIRA WOULD INDICATE POSITION GOJ HAS STATED TO PRC ON QUESTIONS OF FLAG AND AIRLINE, THAT IS, SINCE JAPAN NORMALIZED RELATIONS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 05217 01 OF 02 191128Z

WITH PRC CAL HAS NOT BEEN CONSIDERED BY GOJ TO BE A NATIONAL AIRLINE AND THE EMBLEM HAS NOT BEEN CONSIDERED TO BE A FLAG EMBLEM.

3. AT AM PRESS CONFERENCE APR 19, FONMIN OHIRA ADMITTED FRANKLY THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT TAIPEI'S REACTION WOULD BE BUT SPELLED OUT GOJ'S ATTITUDE BOTH DURING NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR FUTURE TOWARD TAIWAN. HE

MADE THREE POINTS: A) GOJ WISHED TO PUT JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN INCLUDING AVIATION RELATIONS ON STABLE BASIS AND END UNDEFINED CHARACTER OF RELATIONS WHICH RESULTED FROM DIPLOMATIC SWITCH. B) GOJ WISHED TO DEFINE TOKYO-TAIPEI AIR RELATIONS WITHIN SPIRIT OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH PRC. C) TO MAINTAIN PRESENT AIR TIE WHICH IS IMPORTANT TO BOTH SIDES, GOJ HAS ASSIDUOUSLY SOUGHT TO OBTAIN TAIPEI'S UNDERSTANDING OF PROBLEM FROM LONG RANGE POINT OF VIEW. HE SAID THAT JAPAN WOULD NOT CHANGE ITS POLICY TOWARD TAIWAN, EVEN IN FACE OF DRASTIC REACTION BY TAIPEI TO CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS. GOJ WAS DETERMINED TO RETAIN ALL RELATIONS POSSIBLE WITH TAIWAN. OHIRA NOTED GREAT LENGTHS TO WHICH JAPAN HAS GONE TO OBTAIN TAIPEI'S UNDERSTANDING AND HE ALLUDED TO PERSISTENT EFFORTS IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH PEKING TO PRESERVE INTERESTS OF TAIWAN. IN ADDITION TO EIGHTEEN MONTH DELAY IN CONCLUDING AGREEMENT, LARGELY BECAUSE OF TAIWAN'S INTERESTS, OHIRA REFERRED TO ALMOST COUNTLESS DELAYS IN RECENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS AS GOJ NEGOTIATORS STALLED PROGRESS WITH PEKING TO PROTECT TAIWAN'S WELFARE. DESPITE THIS, TAIWAN WOULD NOT RESPOND TO, MUCH LESS DISCUSS, GOJ'S PROPOSALS.

4. LDP DIETMEN REPRESENTING BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT WINGS OF PARTY HAVE TOLD EMBOFFS THEY BELIEVE THAT TAIPEI REACTION TO SIGNING OF JAPAN-PRC AIR AGREEMENT IS CERTAIN TO BE SHARPLY NEGATIVE AND TO RESULT IN SOME KIND OF RETALIATORY ACTION. PREDICTED ACTIONS RANGE FROM TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF AIR TRAFFIC TO COMPLETE SEVERANCE OF ALL ECONOMIC RELATIONS. LATTER POSSIBILITY IS PUT FORTH BY ONE LDP RIGHT-WINGER WHO SAYS THAT TAIPEI MAY WELL GO SO FAR AS TO CUT OFF SEA AS WELL AS AIR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 TOKYO 05217 01 OF 02 191128Z

TRAFFIC, AND THAT, IF THIS SHOULD HAPPEN, BREAKUP OF TANAKA CABINET CANNOT BE RULED OUT. MAJORITY OF VIEWS, HOWEVER, TEND TO BE LESS EXTREME. BOTH "HAWKS" AND "DOVES" SEEM AGREED THAT MOST LIKELY TAIPEI ACTION IS SUSPENSION OF AIR LINKS WITH JAPAN AND THAT THIS WILL PRECIPITATE ACRIMONIOUS CONTROVERSY WITHIN LDP. MANY HAVE EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT RESIGNATION OF FONMIN OHIRA MAY BE PRICE TANAKA WILL HAVE TO PAY TO RESTORE PEACE IN PARTY, ALTHOUGH VIEW ALSO EXISTS THAT OHIRA WILL NOT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 05217 02 OF 02 191136Z

21

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 OMB-01 CAB-09 COME-00 DOTE-00 EB-11 FAA-00

SAJ-01 SAM-01 NIC-01 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 EUR-25

DRC-01 /124 W

----- 118006

O 190940Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1397

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 5217

BE ALLOWED TO RESIGN UNTIL AFTER UPPER HOUSE ELECTIONS.

5. WHILE THERE SEEMS TO BE CONSENSUS THAT LDP FACING BITTER INTRAPARTY QUARREL IN WAKE OF EXPECTED STRONG REACTION BY TAIPEI, THERE IS ALSO MAJORITY VIEW THAT GIVEN TIME, MATTER WILL EVENTUALLY BE SETTLED BY TALKS AMONG PARTY ELDERS. DIET RATIFICATION OF AIR AGREEMENT IS EXPECTED TO BE SOUGHT AND ACHIEVED THIS SESSION WITH LDP MAJORITY, OPPOSITION PARTIES, AND MAJOR NEWSPAPERS SUPPORTING MOVE. ACCORDING TO ONE DIET SOURCE AMONG 150 PRO-TAIWAN DIET MEMBERS ONLY ABOUT 30-50 DIEHARDS, INCLUDING SEIRANKAI, ARE LIKELY TO OPPOSE RATIFICATION EITHER BY ABSTAINING OR VOTING AGAINST MEASURE. VIEW ALSO SEEMS TO BE GROWING THAT DISRUPTIVE SIRANKAI ROLE IN ENTIRE AFFAIR IS ABOUT TO BOOMERANG AND SEIRANKAI IS LIKELY TO END UP THOROUGHLY DISCREDITED AND ISOLATED AS RESULT OF ITS ROLE IN WHOLE AFFAIR.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 05217 02 OF 02 191136Z

6. ALTHOUGH TAIPEI'S POSITION REMAINS LARGE QUESTION MARK, WE BELIEVE THAT GOJ AND LDP ACCEPT AS PROBABLE CONSEQUENCE OF SIGNING AIR AGREEMENT WITH PRC SUSPENSION OF AIR TRAFFIC WITH TAIWAN AND ANTICIPATE SEVERE STRESSES AND STRAINS WITHIN CONSERVATIVE CAMP AS PRO-TAIWAN FORCES SEEK TO USE DEVELOPMENTS TO ATTACK TANAKA LEADERSHIP AND OHIRA DIPLOMACY. WHILE ANY ASSESSMENT AT THIS JUNCTURE MUST BE HIGHLY SPECULATIVE, WE BELIEVE THAT AIR AGREEMENT MOST LIKELY TO HAVE FOLLOWING POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES:

A) LDP WILL BE BADLY TORN BY INTRAPARTY CONTROVERSY AS SEIRANKAI AND PRO--TAIWAN FORCES SEEK TO REAP MAXIMUM POLITICAL LEVERAGE FROM TAIWAN ACTION AGAINST JAPANESE INTERESTS.

B) PRIMIN TANAKA WILL, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO PUSH AIR AGREEMENT TOWARD EARLY RATIFICATION BY DIET AND WILL REFUSE TO YEILD TO RIGHT-WING PRESSURES TO DUMP OHIRA.

C) POSSIBILITY EXISTS, HOWEVER, THAT OUTCRY AND STEADILY BUILDING PRESSURE MIGHT STILL FORCE FONMIN OHIRA TO RESIGN, TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALLEGEDLY NOT HAVING CARRIED OUT PARTY WISHES, AND FOR MISJUDGING TAIWAN'S REACTION.

D) AFTER SOUND AND FURY OF INITIAL OUTCRY BY PRO-TAIWAN ELEMENTS, WHICH WILL RECEIVE FULL PLAY IN PRESS, CONTROVERSY WILL BE SLOWLY DEFUSED WITH OPPOSITION FORCED INTO SILENCE BY POWERFUL PRESSURES FROM PARTY LEADERSHIP. SEIRANKAI MAY RESORT TO DRAMATIC MOVES SUCH AS PULLING MEMBERS OUT OF FIVE PARLIAMENTARY VICE-MINISTERSHIPS THEY NOW OCCUPY, BUT THEY ARE NOT LIKELY TO HAVE MUCH LEVERAGE OVER PARTY POLICY.

E) FUKUDA, WHO IS IN DELICATE POSITION AS MEMBERS OF TANAKA GOVT, WILL NOT BREAK WITH TANAKA OVER AIR ISSUE SINCE IT WOULD BE POOR TIMING FROM STANDPOINT OF HIS POLITICAL AMBITIONS.

IN SUM IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT TANAKA GOVT WILL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 05217 02 OF 02 191136Z

MOVE AHEAD ON PLOTTED COURSE TOWARD RATIFICATION OF AIR AGREEMENT WITH PRC REGARDLESS OF TAIPEI'S ACTIONS AND MACHINATIONS OF INTRAPARTY ELEMENTS SEEKING TO EXPLOIT ISSUE.

7. INTERNATNALLY, SIGNING OF PACT WITH PRC ADDS SUBSTANCE TO THE STRUCTURE OUTLINED IN JAPAN-PRC

DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION COMMUNIQUE IN 1972. PACT
CONFIRMS SPIRIT OF COMMUNIQUE AND WILL ALLOW RELATIONS
BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN TO DEVELOP. APR 19 ASAHI
QUOTED COMMENTS IN RECENT SPEECH BY FORMER VICE FONMIN
HOGEN ON CIVAIR AGREEMENT. HOGEN SAID ADVANCEMENT OF
RELATIONS WITH CHINA WAS NECESSARY AND SIGNIFICANT IN
JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH USSR. IN EXPLANATION, HE MADE
THREE POINTS: A) IT WAS UNDESIRABLE AND DANGEROUS
FOR CHINA TO BE OPPRESSED BY SOVIETS' HUGE MILITARY
POWER. B) JAPAN SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO RAISING INTEROATIONAL
STATUS OF CHINA THROUGH SUCH ACTS AS CONCLUDING AIR
AGREEMENT. C) PROGRESS IN RELATIONS WITH CHINA WOULD
HAVE SALUTORY EFFECT IN RESOLVING OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS
WITH USSR, NOTABLY NORTHERN TERRITORY QUESTION AND NEACE
TREATY. WE AGREE WITH HOGEN. SHOESMITH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CIVIL AVIATION, AVIATION AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 APR 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974TOKYO05217
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740091-0748
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740427/aaaaaybd.tel
Line Count: 292
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A) TOKYO 5142 B) TOKYO 5162
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 JUL 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15 JUL 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <27 MAR 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS OF SINO-JAPANESE AVIATION ISSUE
TAGS: ETRN, PFOR, CH, TW, JA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005